2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

culturation, we found that there was a greater willingness among the better-to-do and more acculturated families on our list to have one of our staff live with them. Some of the poorer families who expressed willingness to accept a student were unable to do so because of very crowded living conditions. Many of these poorer families were large and lived in a single room.

We were now ready to begin the accumulation of a great variety of information on every family in the village. Each assistant was made responsible for gathering the data in his barrio. In the three smaller barrios, none of which had over forty families, it was possible to get a few informants who knew quite intimately most families in their barrios. In these smaller barrios, for instance, practically any male adult knew quite well who did or did not own land or other property. In the larger barrios no single informant was well acquainted with more than a small percentage of the families, and we therefore had to use many more informants. In effect, we were doing a census in each barrio, with the number of items investigated progressively increasing as our rapport improved, and as we felt free to ask more questions. Among the items of information which we eventually obtained for each family were (1) ownership of property, such as house, land, cattle and other animals, fruit trees, and sewing machines; (2) occupation and sources of income; (3) marital status, number of marriages, barrio of origin or birthplace of each spouse, kinship of all persons then living on the same house site, and other related items; (4) social participation and positions of leadership; (5) educational level and whether or not any of the children had attended school outside the village. These items were obtained on all families and were supplemented by a number of partial surveys on other items. In addition to the information which we obtained ourselves, we also utilized and checked much of the information contained in the census of 1940. We had obtained a special breakdown of the municipio census by individual villages from the Federal Department of Statistics. The information on all these items was checked independently by at least two informants.

Getting accurate data on land-ownership in Tepoztlán was a difficult and delicate matter because of general suspicion of the motives of anyone who undertakes such a study. Our staff worked for many weeks copying the property listing in the local property register for every family in the village. These findings were then compared with the information independently obtained from informants. Many discrepancies were found. The information which we obtained from informants indicated that approximately fifteen of the people who owned land according to our informants were not registered as landowners. On the other hand, we found several cases of land registered in the name of individuals who were not known by our informants to be landowners. By checking all cases in which there was a discrepancy between the data in the register and those of our informants, we believe that we arrived at a reasonably accurate picture of the real situation. In this connection we learned that there was a higher incidence of unregistered land in the outlying villages of the municipio, where such matters are less easily controlled by local authorities.

The question of the size of land plots presented much more difficult problems than the question of land-ownership. Tepoztecans still do not think basically in

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

terms of hectares, but rather in terms of the amount of seed needed to plant a plot. Thus a peasant will say he planted so many *cuartillos* of corn or beans, rather than so many hectares or *tareas*. In Tepoztlán the number of *cuartillos* of corn that will cover one hectare varies according to the size of seed and the type of terrain. By and large, however, Tepoztecans consider that ten *cuartillos* of *maíz ancha*, the prevalent type of corn used, make up one hectare in lands used for plow agriculture, which are the only privately owned lands and the only ones we were concerned with. We measured and paced numerous milpas with the aid of the two Mexican agronomists, and found that the quantity of seed for one hectare of land varied between nine and one-half to twelve *cuartillos* of corn. On this basis we accepted the Tepoztecan figure of ten *cuartillos* as reasonably accurate and have used it throughout the study. In checking sample plots for size, we found that the size of plots registered was quite accurate. However, the value of land registered had no relationship to its current value.

With the help of the agronomists, we mapped all the village sites as well as some of the outlying agricultural lands near some of the barrios. On my later visits to the village in 1947 and 1948, I did a study of land types and land use with the assistance of Alberto Beltrán, who drew the maps and aided in surveys. We also carefully examined the municipal records, from which we obtained data on births and deaths over a ten-year period, the number of marriages over an eight-year period, the municipal income and expenditures for a fifteen-year period, and the number and types of court cases from 1926 to 1944.

We would like to say a word about our use of Tepoztecans as assistants. We took advantage of the presence of a number of intelligent and fairly well-educated Tepoztecans in the village by employing them as assistants in many of the surveys. This saved us a great deal of time and effort, and we were able to collect a wider variety of data than would otherwise have been possible. In addition to surveys, we obtained autobiographies, written accounts of experiences during the Revolution, a daily record over a short period of all visitors to the Municipal Palace and the purpose of the visits, written accounts of the local political situation by various political figures in the village, collections of stories, jokes, and sayings, and case histories of quarrels among neighbors and among relatives. We were gratified that several of our Tepoztecan assistants proved to be such helpful and reliable workers.

While we were gathering this information for the village as a whole, each of our student assistants was recording data and observations on the families with which they were living. A long, detailed guide for observing and recording behavioral data and for the writing of life histories was prepared by Ruth Lewis as an aid to the students. Again, we secured the cooperation of the more educated members of families in keeping daily records, in answering special questionnaires, or in writing up special subjects.

The testing program was carried out in the school, and the testing group was made up of fifty children of school age selected from our list of twenty-one representative families. The families represented each of the socio-economic levels and each of the barrios. The psychological tests which we endeavored to give to each child in the testing group were the Rorschach, the Grace-Arthur Performance Scale,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the Goodenough Draw-a-Man, the Emotional Response Test, the Moral Judgment Test, an adapted form of Thematic Apperception, free drawings, and written themes. The Rorschach tests were given by Ruth Lewis; the Performance Scale, the drawing tests, and the written themes, by Angélica Castro de la Fuente; the Thematic Apperception, by Esperanza Dominguez Reina; and the others, by local assistants.[19]

The methodological orientation of this study combines the historical, the functional, and the configurational points of view. In the first instance we have studied Tepoztecan culture as a changing phenomenon, responding to different influences at various times in its complicated history. In the second, we have examined the institutions of the village as they function at the present time, and have shown the inter-relationships between the social, economic, and political aspects of life. In the third, we have sought to understand Tepoztecan culture as a whole, as an integrated way of life, as well as part of the larger Mexican scene.

Tepoztlán is discussed from two points of view: first, as an entity in itself, with its internal organization which includes the family, the barrio, the village-wide institutions like the church, the school, and the local government; and second, as part of the units larger than itself such as the municipio, the state, the nation, and the world. These internal and external aspects of village organization and village life are, of course, closely inter-related and together constitute a continuum of social and economic organization. In the case of Tepoztlán, its relationship with the Mexican nation is particularly important, as the context within which its history, economics, politics, and other aspects of life have developed. Mexico was therefore one of our basic configurations in this study.

Broadly speaking, studies of Mexico by social scientists have been of two types: one, studies of the nation as a whole; and two, studies of single communities. The former have been done primarily by historians, geographers, economists, and sociologists; [20] the latter by anthropologists. The relationship between these two types of studies has tended to be one-sided. Whereas the writers of national studies, of necessity, have had to draw upon local studies, anthropologists for the most part have carried on their work with little effort to place it within a national or even a regional framework.[21] Indeed, anthropological studies of communities in Mexico and, for that matter, in other parts of Latin America, have been characterized by what might be called an ideological localism whereby each little community is

[19] We have drawn upon the results of most of the tests in writing up the sections on Tepoztecan character. However, with the exception of the Rorschach results, which are published here, the other test data will be published later.

[20] A few examples of the type of national studies I have in mind are Eyler N. Simpson, *The Ejido, Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937); Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York: Century Co., 1928); Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929); Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

[21] The work that Redfield and the Carnegie Institute of Washington carried on in Yucatán represents an exception. However, the primary orientation of the community studies in this program was to use Yucatán as a convenient laboratory for the study of theoretical problems concerning the nature of society and social change rather than toward a better understanding of Mexico and its problems.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

texcal, an area covered with volcanic rock and a thorny scrub forest with a predominating flora of copal gum, mimosalike legumes, a tree "sweet potato," and silk cotton trees.[8] *Texcal* covers a strip of land approximately two kilometers wide on the eastern limits of the municipio and constitutes about ten per cent of the total land area of the municipio. To the east of the divide is an area of rounded hills covered with scrub forest. These lands are known as *terrenos cerriles*. The predominating flora is *vera blanca*, *agualisca*, and scrub oak. Both the hill land and the land of the divide itself are used for grazing and for the planting of corn by the primitive cutting and burning method; and the trees from the cleared land are used for firewood. The villages of Santiago and Ixcatepec are located in the lower levels of this area, and the villages of Amatlán and Santo Domingo are found in pockets in the mountain chain which forms the eastern boundary of the municipio.

In viewing the land resources and types of land use in the municipio as a whole, we find there are five distinct types according to Tepoztecan categories: monte, *texcal*, *cerros*, *terrenos cerriles*, and *terrenos de temporal*. Each of these land types, with the exception of the *cerros*, plays an important role in the Tepoztecan economy. Their distribution is shown in Fig. 4. The approximate area of each of these land types and their uses are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Tepoztecan Land Types and Land Uses.

Land Types	Land Uses	Percentage of Total Land Area of Municipio
Monte	Lumber, firewood, charcoal	45
Texcal	*Tlacolol* (hoe culture), firewood	10
Terrenos cerriles	Grazing, *tlacolol*, firewood	18
Cerros	Some grazing and *tlacolol* but mostly of no use	12
Terrenos de temporal	Plow agriculture	15
Total		100

The foregoing data are based on a survey made by the writer with the aid of Tepoztecan informants. A survey of the land resources of the municipio made by the Departamento Agrario in 1937 agrees quite closely with our own study (see Table 2), except that the categories used in classifying the lands are not those used by Tepoztecans.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the forest lands and grazing lands together account for the largest portion of the lands of the municipio, approximately sixty-three per cent. The agricultural poverty of the municipio as well as of the village of Tepoztlán can be seen from the fact that only about fifteen per cent of the total land area is available for plow agriculture. Furthermore, most of the cultivable land is highly eroded and of poor productive quality. Tepoztecans distinguish three

[8] The flora of the *texcal* consists primarily of *huaje blanco*—*Leucaena* (Leguminosae); *copal*—*Elaphrium* (Burseraceae); *Cazahuate*—*Ipomoea* (Convolvulaceae); and *palo mulato*—*Elaphrium* (Burseraceae).

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

twice a year the Acción invites members from other villages and provides them with a banquet and special religious services.

From the point of view of its effects upon the social structure and levels of living, recent trends in entertainment have tended to make for greater differences among the various economic groups. The new forms of diversion invariably involve an expenditure of money for dues, equipment, bus fare, shoes, clothing, and appropriate food. Thus, the very poor cannot join organizations like the sports club or Acción Católica, or go to Cuernavaca or to the movies, or celebrate birthdays with invited guests. The diversions which they can most easily afford are the fiestas and fairs and they rarely partake of others. It is the middle and upper economic groups which participate most actively in the newer type of diversions.

FAMILY BUDGETS

Having considered several separate aspects of levels of living in Tepoztlán we can now turn to a comparison and analysis of a few specific family budgets as a whole.[16] How much do families actually spend on food, clothing, health, recreation, and religious activities? How does a poor family compare with a rich family on the various items? What proportion of the expenditures are for subsistence, self-improvement, or economic investment?

We have estimated the approximate annual expenditures of seven families on each of the following items: food; basic household necessities; house upkeep, repair, and tax; clothing; education; health; religion and fiestas; diversion; investments; and miscellaneous. We will present again the two families for which we have already considered food expenditures.[17] It will be recalled that Family I is in the upper economic group and is made up of the parents and two adult children. Family II is one of the poorest families in the village and includes the parents and seven children. Table 52 presents a summary of the annual expenditures of each family.

---

[16] The study of family budgets in a community like Tepoztlán is beset with many difficulties. Illiteracy is high and most Tepoztecan families are not in the habit of keeping accounts of expenditures or income. In addition, there are attitudes of reserve and even suspicion concerning this type of investigation, so that intensive budget studies can be done only where rapport is excellent. Also, as we have seen earlier, there is much seasonal variation in diet and expenditures, and the prices of many items vary a great deal during the year, so that many adjustments have to be made in arriving at an accurate annual budget. To study income and expenditure for a few weeks and then assume a weekly average and multiply by 52 would not yield accurate results in the case of Tepoztlán. Ideally the investigator should live with a family for at least a year and keep a daily account of income and expenditures for the family. In practice this is not always feasible. It seriously limits the range of data that the anthropologist can get and is very time consuming; only a few families could be studied in this manner by a single investigator. In getting the budgets presented here, a combination of the intensive and extensive approaches was used. Detailed schedules were drawn up, and daily records were kept for a few families for periods ranging from two to eight weeks. In addition, budgets were reconstructed for the preceding year by questioning of family members. In general the data on expenditures were much more satisfactory than those on incomes. Also, we found repeatedly that income was below expenditures, a common phenomenon in budget studies of low income families in rural areas in the United States.

[17] See "Diet," p. 187.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

13 *the people as seen from their rorschach tests:*

by Theodora M. Abel and Renata A. Calabresi

128 In our analysis[1] of the Rorschach protocols we have attempted to find out what the people of Tepoztlán are like. We have compared the records of children, adolescents, and adults, to investigate changes that take place in personality structure and dynamics as the maturing processes unfold. We have also attempted to obtain from the projective material some conception of what it means to be a boy or girl, a man or woman in this Mexican community. Our emphasis has been on intergroup comparisons, where the groups to be compared vary in sex and chronological age.

It is true that there are limitations in the effectiveness of interpreting material from a cultural group with which we are but slightly familiar and to which we have not been directly exposed. But enough work has been done by various investigators to verify Rorschach's initial premise that the fundamental dynamics and structure of a personality in any culture can be ascertained.[2] What the psychologist has to be aware of in the interpretation of a personality-in-culture, are such pitfalls as labeling records in terms of standards of normalcy and psychopathy, and in terms of behavior, using subjects in the United States, particularly the urban and the more sophisticated and educated groups as criteria.[3]

125 ## *CONDITIONS OF TESTING AND SUBJECTS CHOSEN*

The Rorschach tests were given in Spanish by Ruth M. Lewis[4] over a four-month period in 1943–44, as one part of a broad ethnographic and historical study of the village. The selection of subjects for the test was determined by the objectives of

[1] This chapter was written by Dr. Theodora M. Abel and Dr. Renata A. Calabresi prior to their reading of an earlier chapter on the people. However, they had seen three short published articles of mine, one of which dealt with inter-personal relations. In addition, they had read an early version of one of my family studies.

[2] E. Oberholzer, "Rorschach's Experiment and the Alorese," *The People of Alor* by Cora Du Bois, Chap. XXII. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.)

[3] Theodora M. Abel, "Rorschach Test in the Study of Cultures," *Rorschach Research Exchange and Journal of Projective Techniques*, XII (1948), 1-15.

[4] This section, "Conditions of Testing and Subjects Chosen," was written by Ruth and Oscar Lewis.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the broader research program, and the testing was done on a family basis as part of the intensive family case studies. Twenty-one families, representative of the socio-economic and barrio differences in Tepoztlán, were selected for the testing program, and each member of the selected families was given the Rorschach. 125

As part of the project, seven student assistants were assigned to live with seven of the selected families. The testing was begun in these seven families only after the field worker had established good rapport. In each case the assistant who lived with the family prepared the way for the testing. The tester was then invited to meet the family and spent some time with each in friendly visits. The parents were tested in the home, but most of the children were tested in the school.

There was relatively little resistance to the testing, partly because of the slow, indirect way in which each family was approached, and partly because of Tepoztecan passivity, particularly toward city people or those in positions of authority. Very few Tepoztecans asked questions about the test; they seemed content to accept the tester's statement that a series of ink-blots were to be looked at, and that they were to tell the tester what the ink-blots made them think of. In the few cases in which questions were asked, the ink-blots were explained as a test of the imagination.

The cooperation of the children was gained, first, by testing the parents and winning their confidence, and, second, by testing the children in descending order of age. It was also found effective to ask the mother to arrange the appointments, so that it was she who told the child when to take the test. Small gifts of toys and sweets also helped. Rapport was far better with the children tested at home in familiar surroundings and with family members near-by, than with those tested in the school.

Testing in the school had many disadvantages. The school in rural Mexico does not enjoy the same prestige as in the United States, and is often subjected to criticism and interference by conservative elements in the community. Our school testing program, which included a battery of psychological tests and collections of drawings and written themes, attracted a good deal of attention and gave the anti-school group a pretext for criticism. [872] [578]

In Tepoztlán it is assumed that when two people are alone together they are up to no good. Since it is necessary for the child and the tester to be alone during the administration of the Rorschach test, the removal of the children from the class room, one by one, came in for particular protest. To make matters worse, a local *curandero* considered the doctor on our staff as a possible competitor and circulated pornographic pictures which he said were the pictures that our tester was showing to the children. When the tests were given in the home no such difficulties arose. [571] [123]

The children did not enjoy being the center of attention in the testing situation. They were shy, ill at ease, and unaccustomed to taking tests involving much talking, and they soon became weary with the effort of expressing themselves. There is a general feeling in the village that it is not good for a person to study or think too much, and the many questions were *molestia* (a bother). One mother objected to [828]

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the continuation of a test on the grounds that *se calienta la cabeza*, that is, the child's head would get too hot from thinking so much!

SUBJECTS CHOSEN

The total population whose records could be used in the study was one hundred and six. Six records were discarded since the subjects failed to give any responses or gave responses not related to the stimulus material. The subjects ranged in age from five to seventy-four years, fifty-nine were males and forty-seven were females. No attempt was made to secure an equal number of subjects at different age levels by sex, but we did obtain a small but fair sampling of children and adults at various age levels. The subjects were divided into five chronological age categories with the idea of comparing them: young children, children just before puberty, adolescents, younger adults, and older adults. This selection was somewhat arbitrary, since we had in mind the accepted age range of children, adolescents, and younger and older adults in American Society.[5]

Groups used for comparison in this study were as follows:

		C. A. Range	*Females*	*Males*
A	Older adults	47-74[6]	12	9
B	Younger adults	20-39	9	12
C	Adolescents	13-19	15	10
D	Children just before puberty	9-12	12	13
E	Young children	5-8	4	10

RESULTS: THE GROUP AS A WHOLE

The intellectual approach of Tepoztecans to the world around them appears to be concrete rather than abstract (D larger than W, see Table 54). They stick predominantly to the actual world in which they live, a world of everyday occurrences (D responses and no preponderance of phantasies over responsiveness to stimulation from the world around). Their movement (M) and color (Sum C) responses are fairly equally balanced except in the case of the older males, who give preponderantly color responses. A small deviant group (14 cases out of 106), ten of whom belong to one family, have a more exaggerated mode of responding to the cards. They are determined and try to do their best, as do the rest of the population, but when a job is too hard for them they resort to a fragmentary type of Rorschach response, breaking down the situation into minute and repetitive items (seeing countless parts of animals and plant details).[7] Aside from this minority group of fussy individuals, who would be called obsessive-compulsive in the United States, the majority of tested Tepoztecans do not give up a task, nor do they resort to unrealistic aloofness with flights into phantasy.

[5] Although many girls between the ages of thirteen and nineteen are married in Tepoztlán, they usually do not maintain their own homes nor take on the full responsibilities of adulthood until they are older, so that their place in the adolescent group is not without justification.

[6] Two females and five males in this group were fifty-five years of age or older.

[7] In a subsequent study on family groups, this family will be discussed in detail.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

capacity with another part of the program, but he remained on call at all times for clinical services.

In line with our intention that the clinic serve a research function in addition to its service activities, it was planned that in addition and prior to the usual physical examination of each patient, the doctor should also use forms that called for the following kinds of information: a textual account of the history and causes of the diseases from the patient's point of view; whether the patient visited the curandero; the diagnoses and therapy of the curandero; the fees paid, and so on. The doctor was expected to utilize this information wherever possible in establishing rapport with the patient. Furthermore, it was hoped that in this way it would be possible systematically to obtain important data on native concepts of disease and therapy, and by comparing the diagnosis of the patient and the curandero with that of the doctor, to understand better the rationale behind native concepts.

Since funds from the cooperative came in slowly, the facilities of the clinic were never quite adequate. In addition, the first doctor furnished by the Department of Health and Welfare was a young, unmarried man whose previous experience was limited and had been confined to urban areas. Neither by training nor temperament was he particularly well fitted for the sensitive and demanding task of treating the people of a rural Mexican village. After a month, he was replaced by an older doctor with more experience.

However, our initial difficulties in getting a suitable physician and adequate equipment did not appear to trouble the prospective clients of the clinic. During the first week, as already indicated, the doctor had 11 patients, and subsequently the figure slowly increased to 35. Then quite suddenly, patients ceased to come altogether. For all intents and purposes, the clinic was through.

It would be tempting at this point to attribute the demise of the clinic to the inadequacies of its doctors and physical facilities and to look no further to find reasons for its downfall. But such an explanation would be partial at best. In the first place, the drop in attendance was abrupt and complete, not the gradual falling off one might expect to result from cumulative dissatisfactions.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The Attack on the Testing Program

When we arrived in Tepoztlán, we brought official letters to the principal of the school from the Minister of Education and the Director of Education in Cuernavaca—letters which recommended our project and asked for all necessary cooperation. We met with the principal and school staff to explain the purpose of the testing program and to describe briefly each of the tests. We also explained that each child to be tested would first be examined, fully clothed, by our doctors to determine the existence of any physical defects that might affect the psychological responses. The teachers and principal all expressed interest in the program and willingness to cooperate.

Among other things, the testing program included administration of the Rorschach test. In this test a standard series of figures resembling large ink blots printed on cards are shown to subjects. Since the blots are abstract in form, each subject can interpret them as he wills, much as one "sees" things in drifting clouds. We arranged to have four women of our staff give the various tests daily in the mornings. Since each selected child had to be tested four times, we were careful to space the tests so that no child was tested more than once a day. All of these tests were individual and had to be administered privately. There were no classrooms available for our use, so we had to do the best we could out of doors. The principal set up four tables for us in the courtyard of the school. The spot was by no means secluded, since six of the classrooms had windows and doors which faced it. At the open end of the court were a number of banana trees, behind which were the toilets. Thus, the court was seldom without passersby, and we were rarely alone.

For four months our investigation in the school and in the rest of the village proceeded smoothly with many manifestations of good will and cooperation on the part of the villagers. Then, quite unexpectedly, in April the principal of the school put an abrupt stop to all the testing, claiming that a small group of men and women had accused our workers of asking the children immoral questions and had threatened to stone them if they did not leave the village at once. The municipal authorities, without consulting us, had begun an "investigation" of these rumors and

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125 661 208 were calling witnesses and questioning them in such a way as to create more suspicion and to spread the gossip throughout the village.

The accusations were specifically as follows: that the testers were showing indecent pictures to the children; that the testers were taking the children off alone to the banana grove for the purpose of undressing them; that the doctor was undressing the girls for physical examinations.

This turn of affairs was a serious threat to the entire project. We set to work at once to investigate. We visited the principal of the school and went over each test in detail with him and with his staff. They all declared that the tests were in no way objectionable and that the accusations were unfounded. The principal explained that a mother had come to the school to tell him that her husband had forbidden her children to return to school because he thought they were losing too much time as a result of the testing program. The principal had asked her to send her children back and he promised to end the testing. In checking the chronology of events, we learned that the principal had ordered the testing program stopped two days before the mother appeared at the school.

The principal went on to say that a few days after he was visited by the mother, a committee of 12 men and women came to the school to protest against the "immoral" tests which we were giving their children. The leaders of this group were members of the Education Committee, the bitter enemy of the school that had been attacking the principal ever since he had arrived in Tepoztlán. After visiting the school, the Committee went to the town hall, where they persuaded the mayor to institute an investigation.

We spoke with the two councilmen who were the leaders of the Committee and showed them the tests. They agreed that they were not immoral but stated that this was no proof that our workers were not asking other questions not included in the tests. They said they were of the opinion that the tests were too complicated and too advanced for so backward a people and were bound to be misinterpreted by them. This device of citing ignorance of the people as a reason for rejecting innovations was frequently

[177]

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

used by the conservatives in the village. We urged them to put a stop to the mayor's "investigation," but they refused. A talk with the mayor was equally unsuccessful. He was continuing the investigation with enthusiasm, evidently impelled by motives of his own. He turned a deaf ear to our explanations and was noncommittal during the interview. The municipal secretary, one of the few Tepoztecan women to hold this post, was a religious fanatic and was much disliked in the village. She had a great deal of influence over the mayor and was conducting the investigation for him.

That evening we were visited by a man who introduced himself as "Antonio Lopez, a Christian, and a friend of the Tepoztecans." He had a marked military manner, clicked his heels, and spoke with a German accent. He said he was a friend of one of the leaders of the Education Committee and wished to warn us that he did not like the work we were doing in Tepoztlán. He said that, although it was true that for the present Mexico and the United States were friendly, he was of the opinion that the situation would not last long and that the people were suspicious of our motives. In the course of our conversation, he also lamented the fact that education was no longer in the hands of the church but said that, too, might be changed in the future. We later learned that this man was part German and had been educated in Germany. He was a Synarchist and four years before had been ordered out of Tepoztlán by the state governor because he was behaving like a Nazi agent.

Synarchism is a well-organized political movement, the Mexican brand of Fascism. Although it has received the support of and worked closely with Nazi and Falangist elements since its inception, it is nevertheless a grass-roots movement with a large peasant base. In 1943 the strength of the Synarchist membership was estimated at well over a million. Tepoztlán was marginal to the regions of Synarchist concentration, but nearby towns had suffered from Synarchist-inspired uprisings in protest against the government program of conscription.

We appealed to a state senator who was a native of Tepoztlán and who happened to be living in the village at the time. He offered to help us, and we arranged to go to the state governor

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125 661 with him the following morning. The governor was not in Cuernavaca, and we had to speak to his aide. We told him our story, and he was satisfied with our explanations. He wrote a strong letter addressed to the mayor of Tepoztlán stating that our study was a Mexican government project and had the full approval of the governor of Morelos. He added that the accusations against us were unfounded, and ordered the cessation of the investigation. He also asked the authorities to detain Antonio Lopez and to bring him to Cuernavaca for questioning. We were encouraged by the cooperation and friendliness of the governor's aide and thought that the whole matter would soon be cleared up.

We returned to Tepoztlán and presented the letter of the governor's aide to the municipal secretary, since the mayor himself was not in, as usual. Her response was that the investigation would continue, that Lopez was not in the village (although we had seen him), that in her opinion Lopez was a friend of the Tepoztecans, and that nothing could be done to molest him.

125 661 208 We learned that day of the manner in which the village investigation was being conducted. The head of one of the local families working with us received a peremptory order from the mayor to present himself at the town hall within a half-hour. He was asked to tell what immoral questions the project social worker who lived in his house was asking. This man's daughter, aged thirteen, was taken into a room by the woman secretary and was asked, "Is it not true that the workers are asking you bad questions?" When the girl denied this, the secretary told her not to be ashamed and to speak to her as a woman. She said, "Is it not true that the doctor undressed you? What bad things did you talk about in the banana grove?" With such procedures, the secretary succeeded in aggravating the situation and in arousing more people against our work.

With the cooperation of the state senator, we arranged a hearing at the town hall with the two councilmen for the following day. When we arrived, we found the room filled with people—about 25 women in addition to the two men. We knew that it was impossible to have a calm hearing with these women and suspected another maneuver on the part of the local secretary and the mayor. However, we had to proceed. We took the names of

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

all the women present and found that not one of them had a child who had been tested by us. We then read the questions of our tests, and one of our workers made a moving speech, which seemed to calm the women. However, the secretary brought in a surprise witness, a girl of twelve, whom she had succeeded in intimidating. The child was frightened, tense, and on the verge of tears. She stated that we had asked her the questions we had been accused of asking (she repeated those mentioned above), and her words once more aroused the women in the audience. We produced the test of this particular child and wanted to read her responses, but the secretary shouted that no one wanted to hear the immoral answers and that we would read only the good things and leave out the bad. The women began to shout and some began to cry.

The mayor then arose and said that it was clear that we were not wanted in the village and that under no circumstances should we continue with our work. We answered that this group was only a tiny minority of the village and did not represent the true village opinion. We asked the mayor to call a meeting of the entire village so that we could demonstrate the sentiment of the people; he agreed to call a larger meeting for the following Sunday. As the meeting began to break up, the secretary asked to see the Rorschach cards which we had shown earlier to the women without comment from them. The secretary said she had seen things in the cards which proved her point and that she would like to show them to those present. She thereupon began to point out the sexual organs and phallic symbols which she "saw" in almost every one of the ten amorphous designs—this, in spite of the fact that there were men present. It is interesting to note that claiming to see sexual objects in the cards occurred very rarely in the 125 Rorschachs given to children and adults in Tepoztlán. By her actions, the secretary unconsciously revealed her own personality and helped to explain her behavior. This demonstration naturally agitated the women further.

We left this meeting with a feeling that things were going from bad to worse. However, we were later visited by a group of Tepoztecans, who said that they were very much ashamed of the way these people were behaving and said that the same thing

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125
661

happened time and again whenever an attempt was made to improve the village. We decided to see the governor, but again he was inaccessible, and we proceeded to Mexico City to advise Dr. G, director of the Inter-American Indian Institute and sponsor of our project. Dr. G pointed out that cultural missions in the past had run into similar or more serious difficulties in the villages. Dr. G and the senator thereupon conferred with high government officials who gave us a letter to the governor of Morelos, and we set out for Cuernavaca to see him.

Our interview with the governor was both a surprise and a disappointment. At first he said that he had never heard of our project. We made the necessary explanations and told him of our recent difficulties. He thereupon said that the United States owed Mexico a great debt because of our imperialistic history and that Americans should be more "loyal" to Mexicans than vice versa. Americans do not understand Mexicans and cannot get along with them. In connection with Antonio Lopez, he observed that Nazi doctrine, "because of its belief in order and authority," had a much greater appeal to the peasants than did our American democracy. We left the meeting with the realization that we could expect nothing from the governor. However, he said he wanted to send his aide to the planned meeting on Sunday.

Upon our return to Tepoztlán, we were again visited by the group of friendly Tepoztecans. They came to advise us against attending the Sunday meeting and suggested that the proper procedure would be to have the governor call the two councilmen to Cuernavaca for a talk and a cooling-off period, charging them with defamation of honor. We agreed with them but said we did not want to use such methods. Furthermore, it was too late for us to prevent the meeting. The group then offered to bring about 200 men and women to the meeting to support us. At their suggestion, we agreed to accompany them to the governor's aide before the meeting in order to present him with their point of view.

This man, probably advised by the governor, spoke to us in a very different manner during this second visit. He declared before our committee of Tepoztecans that he had never heard of our project nor of the Inter-American Indian Institute and

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

scolded us for not informing his office of our mission. We reminded him that we had presented the governor with a letter from Dr. G and had received an acknowledgment of the same, and that we had been accompanied at the time by the senator, who also introduced us. The governor's aide flatly denied all we said and asked his clerk to look up the letters in the file. I reminded him that we had a letter written by him on our behalf addressed to the mayor of Tepoztlán. The clerk said the letters were not in the file but that she would look again.

Encouraged by this, the governor's aide continued to berate us and said that in all probability we did not know how to get along with Mexican peasants. He said that as technicians we probably were not sufficiently *simpático* and that we should have known that our tests and ink blots were bound to suggest sexual and immoral symbols to rustic people. The clerk had by this time found the letters in question, and the governor's aide changed his tone a bit. However, his performance had a depressing effect on our Tepoztecan friends, who had believed that we had the strong support of the government, and the situation was quite embarrassing. The governor's aide said he would attend the Sunday meeting and would settle the entire matter for us. Although the governor's aide, the senator, and the school principal all promised to speak in our favor and defend our work on Sunday, we were by this time skeptical of promises and awaited the meeting with curiosity but with little hope.

The Sunday meeting drew only about a hundred persons, in spite of the fact that the mayor and his assistants visited every home in the village to persuade the residents to be present against us. Of the hundred, the majority were friendly to our project. However, the same 25 women and the two hostile councilmen grouped themselves about the speakers and were the only ones of the assembly who could make themselves heard. There were very few other women present because, as we were told later, no decent woman would attend such a meeting. The rest of the village had the impression that only those who were against us were supposed to come.

All three speakers, the governor's aide, the senator, and the school principal, made ingratiating speeches full of demagogic

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125 promises and without a word in our defense. The governor's aide
661 said he was proud of these mothers who defended their children
208 with such zeal and that he would see that the testing program would not continue. He urged the people to be patient, as we were winding up our work and would soon leave the village. The senator avoided the subject of our project entirely, while the principal sought to gain the good will of the village by stating that as soon as he heard we were doing indecent things he stopped the testing immediately for, above all, he was eager to guard the children entrusted to his care. Our friends, who had gathered there to speak for us, thought that it was useless to do so in view of the attitude of the main speakers, so not a good word was put in except by ourselves.

Shortly after the meeting, we were visited by a delegation from the organization of the poor-land farmers, who had supported us throughout our difficulties, and by a delegation of those who worked the communal lands. They spoke with great feeling and said that we were the objects of a political intrigue. They said the women did not represent more than a small minority and that they were widows or spinsters, because no man would permit his wife to behave in so scandalous a manner. They asked us to stay on and continue our work in Tepoztlán, and they believed that the whole thing would blow over in a few weeks and that no one would molest us. They offered to circulate a petition and get 600 signatures to convince us that we should continue our beneficial work. We agreed and asked them to address it to Dr. G and the Institute. In a few days, they brought us about 200 names, saying that they could not get any more because the mayor had heard of what they were doing and began to threaten the people who signed.

125 As a result of this affair, our entire testing program was temporarily suspended. Our research staff continued to interview informants and devoted themselves to writing up their backlog of material. Little by little, however, we increased our activities and succeeded in giving more tests in the homes. When assignments of our research workers ended and they had to leave the village, they were given warm send-offs by their Tepoztecan friends, departing for their homes elsewhere in Mexico loaded with gifts and with invitations to return.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

What Lay Behind the Attack

What lay behind the attack on the testing program? The mayor, the secretary, the school principal, the two councilmen on the Education Committee, and others who openly denounced the program justified their opposition on the grounds that the tests were immoral. Some of those who opposed the program may sincerely have believed this, but there is ample reason to believe that other reasons were of equal or greater importance. We have already seen that there were a number of highly influential people in Tepoztlán who saw in the clinic a threat to their own position and that there were others who saw the presence of active outsiders as an opportunity to advance their own political interests.

In the former category the outstanding person was Don Rosas, Tepoztlán's most eminent curandero. In spite of the power and prestige he enjoys, Don Rosas cannot help see the gradual and inexorable advance of modern medicine into rural Mexico as a threat to his position. Opening the clinic in the central plaza of Tepoztlán placed his enemy on his front doorstep; the very first patients to visit the clinic were those whose ailments had not responded to treatment by the curanderos. Although Don Rosas himself did not play an active part in the various meetings where the hostility of the villagers to the program was expressed, he was an active influence behind the scenes. Not only did he agitate the mayor, the secretary, and others, but he was directly responsible for the rumor that indecent pictures were being shown.

When the clinic was first established, it was immediately seen by Don Rosas as a threat, and one to be eliminated by any means. But he was too clever to risk an open attack on a venture that was patently humanitarian and had already received the support of a substantial number of villagers. Casting around for the best strategy, he hit upon the testing program as the logical target. The purposes of psychological testing were difficult for many villagers to grasp. Moreover, the pictures shown on one of the tests were highly ambiguous in form and subject to all sorts of interpretations. Don Rosas made a trip to Mexico City and there purchased a set of pornographic pictures. Upon his return he showed these pictures around the village, telling the parents,

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125 661 [759] [208]

"*These* are the pictures they are showing your children! *This* is what they call science!"

Don Rosas was not the only influential figure in Tepoztlán who saw the clinic as a threat. Its inception was a danger signal to the mayor, and through him to the state senator and state governor, all of whom had already been alerted to the disruptive potentialities of the research team by a previous incident.

125 661 648

We had been in Tepoztlán one month, when a committee of poor-land farmers appealed to us to aid them in a boundary dispute with a neighboring village. The communal land was involved and if the dispute was lost, 200 families might face destitution. In spite of the fact that communal land was in question, neither the mayor nor the senator was doing anything about the case. The poor-land farmers claimed that these two officials were acting on the orders of, or out of fear of, the state governor, who they said had an interest in a large cement factory which obtained its fuel from the forests located on the disputed land. The committee had come to us because we happened to have an attorney on our staff. We explained that we could not help them officially or appear in court for them, but that our lawyer could advise them privately, as a friend. We made this decision because many of the families involved had been cooperating with us in our study of family life. Also, we felt that the dispute was a real threat to a large group of Tepoztecans and to the entire village. An investigation convinced us that their claims were just, and we felt obligated to do what we could. The word got around, and apparently the state governor and the senator, as well as the mayor, interpreted our decision as strengthening the hand of political forces opposed to the established powers.

125 661 743 [208]

When the clinic was set up, people began to say that the project members were doing more for their welfare than their own mayor was doing. This was ample grounds for mobilizing the opposition of the mayor, already made wary by the communal land incident. Don Rosas would have had little difficulty in persuading the mayor to direct the power of his office against the program. Perceiving the service activities of the project as a threat to their interests, Don Rosas, the mayor, and the governor instigated or supported feeling against the project.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Another group of influential figures decided to capitalize on this resentment, once aroused, to further their own political fortunes. Municipal elections were to be held in a few months. In addition to the mayor, who hoped to exploit public indignation over "immorality" to gain reelection, one of the two councilmen who headed the Education Committee was hoping to become mayor and promoted resentment for similar reasons. These two men became the spearhead of the attack on the project.

The opposition of the school principal was related to the activities of the Education Committee. The principal, newly appointed to Tepoztlán, was being opposed at every turn by the Education Committee. This group charged the principal with being immoral and a Communist, because he allowed special dances to be given in the school for the purpose of raising funds. The Committee had opposed innovations in the school and was engaging in obstructive activities. Our presence provided further grounds for fighting the school.

The eagerness of the principal in stopping the testing program without consulting us or investigating the charges could have been attributed to his fear of the Education Committee. However, he had ordered our workers out of the school before a single complaint had been made. One of the teachers told us that the principal, in an effort to ingratiate himself with the Education Committee and represent himself as a defender of morality, went to them with accusations against us, which they eagerly took up and carried further, since they had been looking for some grounds for attacking our project. Arranging the visit of the mothers to the school and the town hall was their way of carrying out plans to persuade the mayor to conduct an investigation and to arouse the village.

The actions of the Education Committee were also tied to Antonio Lopez, the Synarchist organizer. He had succeeded, years before, in converting the two councilmen who headed the Education Committee. At one time these men had openly proclaimed themselves as Synarchists, but recently had ceased doing so although they still were intimates of Lopez. These men had branded our group "an imperialist mission," and their anti-U. S. sentiments provided further incentive for their opposition to us.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125 661 177 743 In brief, our well-intentioned efforts to win the cooperation of the villagers by helping them solve some of their problems were interpreted by several local figures as a personal threat. By advising the poor-land farmers we unwittingly were helping the faction out of power; by establishing the clinic we were implicitly reproaching the "do-nothings" in power. The testing program, whose purposes were only vaguely comprehended and only indirectly beneficial to the people, provided a vulnerable target, and it was here that hostility aroused by the introduction of the medical clinic could be played out.

The strategy was effective. The loudly expressed indignation of the officials and a small but vocal group of villagers succeeded in intimidating the rest of the people for a period of time. The clinic languished and we made no attempt to reestablish it. The testing program was stopped in the school but continued quietly in the homes; in the six months that followed, the research program was carried out without further disturbance.

Cooperatives, Individualism, and Politics

177 743 661 We have already seen that inadequacies in the facilities of the clinic had little bearing on its failure. In fact, one might speculate that the clinic would have aroused even greater opposition had it been medically more effective. If so humble an example of modern medicine could provoke disruptive antagonism, a well-equipped clinic, better able to meet the needs of the villagers, might have posed an even greater threat to those in power.

177 743 476 It is also possible that less opposition would have been aroused had we not decided to organize the clinic on a cooperative basis. We have already given the rationale for deciding on the cooperative type of organization. Had we known then what we found out later, we would have reconsidered our decision. However, the very fact that we acted as we did set into motion events that gave us additional insights into the culture of Tepoztlán.

The Mexican Revolution had far-reaching effects upon Tepoztlán. It succeeded in breaking down the rigid social class distinctions which once existed in the village and imbued the people with a consciousness of their rights as individuals. The [571] strong individualism of Tepoztecans manifests itself in their social